1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812 - 1845]

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini, and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*, a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten.

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war. As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that [the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

sistency in all their accounts. From this it will appear, that at the time of Captain Cook's visit, the whole of Tonga, (that is to say the island of Tonga, the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,) was under the sole dominion of Toogoo Ahoo, whose seat of government was on the island of Tonga, and who received tributes from Finow, chief of the Hapai islands, and from Voona*, chief of Vavaoo: that at the time of Mr. Mariner's first arrival the island of Tonga was, and had been for several years, divided into various petty states, all at war with one another; whilst Finow was king of the Hapai islands and Vavaoo, and Toobó Nuha only tributary chief of the latter place.

Mr. Mariner and those of his companions who were with him at the island of Lefooga, (and were four in number,) received orders from the king to prepare for the usual annual attack upon the island of Tonga, and to get ready four 12 pound carronades. They immediately set to work, to mount them upon new carriages with high wheels, made by the native carpenters, under their directions. This being done, Finow

* Voona, it is related, did not pay his tributes regularly as he ought to have done, but being a powerful chief, and his possessions so far from the seat of government, Toogoo Ahoo had never ventured to take hostile measures.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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expressed his opinion, that the gun was an instrument not well fitted (being too unwieldy) for their mode of warfare, which consisted in sudden attacks and retreats, according to circumstances, rather than in a steady engagement. He very readily entered into an acknowledgment of the advantages of a steady contest, but was apprehensive that his men would not easily be brought to stand it. Mr. Mariner and his companions, however, promised that they and their countrymen (who were dispersed upon other islands,) would remain in the front of the battle with their four guns, provided the Tonga people would agree to stand fast and support them. The king assented to this on the part of his men, and a few days afterwards, when he reviewed them, he signified his wishes, and they swore to fulfil their duty.

In the mean time the Englishmen employed themselves in collecting the shot which the natives had brought from on board, but which they had thrown aside, not being able to shape them for any common purpose. They also cut up a quantity of sheet lead, and made it up in rolls to be used as shot. During this time every preparation was also making by the natives for the approaching war: they repaired the sails of their canoes, collected their arrows, spears,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 she been of the king's family, she would no
727 doubt have been retained a prisoner.
[565] Night was now set in, but, by Finow's orders, a firing was kept up, merely with stones, to
669 avoid a waste of shot, because no good aim
726 could be taken: this lasted for about an hour.
[565] The king's matabooles then made several speeches to the garrison, soliciting the Vavaoo chiefs to submit to the government of Finow, but they objected, under the apprehension that they should be afterwards killed by the treachery of the king or of Toobó Tóa. Finow
[634] then addressed them, threatening to remain there the whole night, and the next day to set about building a fort opposite theirs, and to keep up the war until they either yielded or were destroyed.

Shortly after this, however, he gave orders to his men to repair as silently and as speedily as possible to Neáfoo. He deceived the enemy in this way, to prevent them proceeding by another road, and cutting off his retreat. The guns were given in charge to some of the principal warriors, with men under their command
669 to drag them along. The labour of doing this
726 for three miles was by no means trifling, particu-
• 713 larly as the road was very uneven: they swore
829 heartily at all guns, and all Englishmen for making them, and wanted to know why they

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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could not construct them a little lighter; or at least, as they had ingenuity enough to make the guns, they ought to have, they said, the ingenuity also to make legs for them to walk with.

Being arrived at Neafoo, the king, his chiefs, matabooles, Mr. Mariner, and some of the Englishmen, went on board the canoes to pass the night. Mr. Mariner now, as well as in numerous other instances, found the advantage of having an adopted mother, by whom he was provided with plenty of good food, consisting of cooked yams, ripe bananas, and raw fish. They had partaken of no food all the day, and even now not above thirty or forty, consisting of chiefs and matabooles, got any thing to eat, for the time was too far advanced, and the common men too fatigued, to cook yams enough for themselves that night; and as to raw fish, it was considered too good, and at that time too scarce, to give to them *.

* The idea of eating raw fish is not one of the least revolting to the imagination; and we are too readily disposed to believe, that nothing but excessive hunger could render this species of food at all palatable: hence voyagers, on witnessing this act among the natives of these islands, have reasonably supposed them to be some of the lower orders much distressed for want of food (vide Labillardiere's voyage); but the fact is, raw fish is a very palatable diet, and is accordingly eaten as a matter of choice, not of necessity. Being strongly assured of this fact by Mr. Mariner, I made the trial, and repeated it several times upon mackarel, salmon,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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628 dead. They brought intelligence that Toobó
669 Toa had ordered all the canoes to be got ready as soon as possible, and put in a state for sea; and all his fighting men to hold themselves in
669 readiness to depart at a moment's notice. In consequence of this order, Lolo Hea suspected, and indeed it was universally believed, that it was Toobó Toa's intention to make a descent upon the island of Vavaoo: hence he took the first opportunity to make his escape with his two brothers; for had he stayed to have come with the invading army, he could not in honour have deserted it, and would thus have been obliged to fight against his own countrymen*. Finow, on hearing this intelligence, was not backward in making the most judicious preparations to receive his enemy, and which he did, although he had no idea but that his intention was to land his men at Tonga, with a view to assist the garrison before spoken of; but still he held himself well prepared, according to the Tonga maxim, that is *never to suspect any thing without immediately making preparations for the worst.*

[713] [727] To the rest of the preparations Mr. Mariner

[702] * Such is the opinion of the Tonga islanders, that if a man be at any foreign island which is about to wage war with his own, he holds himself obliged to side with the people among whom he is (see p. 179. note.)

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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got ready a carronade, which had hitherto not been used, on account of its having been spiked. Having nothing wherewith to drill the touch-hole, he collected together a vast quantity of wood, and made a large fire, in the midst of which was the gun, of which, when hot, he readily cleared the touch-hole: it was then mounted upon a carriage. Thus Finow had three guns, six barrels of powder, and plenty of shot, for almost all the shot which had been fired in the former attacks upon the garrison were again found and collected. Finow also sent a canoe to the islands of Togoo, to the N. W. of Vavaoo, to collect a cargo of round black pebbles, which are found there in abundance, to serve as shot. With all this ammunition, Finow was far superior to Toobó Toa, who had only two guns, and was withal very short both of powder and shot. All these preparations, however, were never required, for, shortly after, Tonga Mana's canoe arrived, bringing intelligence that Toobo Toa had proceeded with his army to the assistance of the garrison before spoken of in the island of Tonga.

About this time there happened a very heavy storm of thunder and lightning, which is always considered ominous by the natives, and esteemed the harbinger of some great event,

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
009 Tonga 009

discovered that there were many of the enemy with bows and arrows, with which they might have pierced me, if I had continued where I was. Still, curiosity overcame fear, and I pressed forward again, to join those in the front. Just then I saw Mulkaamair's son before me, engaged in fight with a stout man: I was running to his assistance, but, that instant, he struck off the head of his antagonist with a scythe that I had formerly given him, which he had made into an immense sword, by driving the blade into the handle which he had shortened into a hilt. Instead of standing upon his defence against the enemy, who were coming on in a determined manner, as resolved to conquer or die, he stuck the point of his sword into the head of the man he had killed, and ran back in triumph. Though far superior to them in number, my heart began to fail me for our party, when I noticed the irregular manner in which they engaged the enemy. These advanced, while we already began to draw back. Several of our chiefs fell, and the rest began to give way. The enemy then made a grand push; but as we were so numerous the fugitives only fell back upon the rear, which still kept their ground and prevented their flight. Unable to resist or escape, the front ranks fell. It was with difficulty I pressed through to the rear, where I took to my heels with all the speed that fear administered, and did

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

not look behind till I had run a full quarter of a mile. We were all thrown into a panick, and confusion; we lost the power of resistance, and numbers were slaughtered. I fell into a hole and sprained my leg. I was terribly alarmed, and thought I must have fallen a sacrifice to the enemy. But I exerted all my force, and limped forwards as fast as possible. The pain and weakness of my leg, however, was such an obstruction, that my spirits sank within me, and I began almost to despair. I heard the enemy not far behind me, and expected the spear, the club or the boggebogge, every moment, to strike my back. The boggeebogge was an instrument of war somewhat like a sword, but round at the top, made of very hard wood with two edges but very thick in the middle to give it weight and strength.

The fear of these tremendous weapons roused me to exert all my strength, and to keep out of their reach. I took care in future battles, not to spring forward to the first ranks, and to run away in time. I found their wars were too terrible for the mere gratification of curiosity—that their instruments wielded with such strength and dexterity, were an overmatch for me, and that such an undisciplined volunteer as I was, would soon be speared. At length, we made a stand, and the enemy halted. Many came up with us, and fell back into the rear, wounded. Among them was a respectable chief of Ar-

1 [Errata: the second a should be deleted. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235—Analyst]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunting expeditions. 175 669 266

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafulimuloa, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior; and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises. Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress on the hill at Nukualofa. 175 669 643 [167] [712]

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au-Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted for a most charming book of travel.A 175 609 669 [727]

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- 175 669 725 [713]

A /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this account -- Analyst/

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

but they would only consent to listen to him on the condition that he would cut off all communication with Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them. These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pretended that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound, and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six, all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regretting their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regarding the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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dependence. They were the more ready to adopt the latter alternative since the priests pointed out to them that they would be surrendering not to King George—that they had already done—but to the English missionaries, who had become his Ministers of State as well as of the Gospel.

Before finally taking the field, the king made an effort to induce the priests to leave the rebels—for his foresight told him that any injury they might sustain would afford a pretext for the demands of a foreign Power for indemnity. They refused, however, to leave the fort, probably feeling that the desertion of their friends on the approach of danger would destroy their prestige beyond repair. The courage they showed in braving the dangers of a siege by a stronger party, with the prospect of the horrors of savage victory at the close, compares favourably with the conduct of their rivals who fled the island in 1840, and deserves something better than the sneers that have been heaped upon them by the Wesleyan missionaries.

On March 1st the king distributed muskets among his chiefs, and formally declared war. After two slight skirmishes, a pitched battle was fought near Bea, with considerable loss on both sides, but without decisive result. On the 14th the Roman Catholic Bishop of Samoa arrived in a French ship-of-war to inquire into the cause of the war, and left again with the avowed intention of bringing help for the beleaguered priests from Tahiti. On the 12th of April the king closely invested Bea, by throwing up four earthworks at different points of the fortification, garrisoning them with a total force of 10,000 men. He

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 712 726 701 713 Finau besieged the place with an army of 5,000 men and artillery taken from the captured ship *Port-au-Prince*, but, after an ineffective siege of many months, was obliged to make terms with the enemy. The place lies four miles from Neiafu, on a deep bay communicating with 712 the same harbour. Descending from the modern village which lies just outside the landward defences, we came upon the outer rampart at a spot about two furlongs from the beach and 100 feet above it. We traced the triple line of ditches and earthworks for 200 yards, to a spot near the angle, where they made a semi-circular sweep to enclose a fissure in the earth 712 before trending inland, This rift was the secret 312 of the long resistance to Finau's army. The story runs that, a few years before the siege, a man weeding yams in the gardens above noticed that his dog disappeared and returned with a dripping coat. Fresh water is too rare in Vavau for this to be allowed to pass, and the next day the dog was followed. He vanished into a hole in the coral rock, and after several minutes, returned dripping as before.

Torches were procured and a man scrambled down. The passage gradually widened until, at a depth of forty or fifty feet, it became a

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

ngahu plants that grew profusely there. They went on to the next island, and again she got sick. They went to a third island, and she liked it there so there they stayed until one night she woke up with stabbing pains in her back. Tupouto'a knew that she was in labour so they hurried and set sail for Lifuka. Before landing at Pangai, however, they decided to turn around and head for 'Uiha to Malupo's place so the child could be born there. As they passed Hihifo, Houma Fale Ono begged them to put to shore because she was going to give birth very soon.

They landed on the beach just as she gave birth to a baby boy. The men called about for a ripe coconut to feed the baby.[12] Finally, an old man, who was bailing out the double canoe, called back that he had a nut from the last island they were on. This was brought and opened. They found that it was a nginingini "a dried shrivelled nut," for all the water was gone. The meat was still good, and they fed the baby with it. After this, they took the afterbirth and buried it further inland, marking the place with an ovava tree.[13] Then they sailed on to 'Uiha.

When they arrived at 'Uiha, a kava party was held and they told of their travels and the birth of the child. The first island on which they landed and where Houma Fale Ono vomitted from the smell of the ngahu plants was called /lua + ngahu/ "vomit ngahu." The next island was named /lua + hoko/ "vomit next" because that was where she threw up next. The third island that she liked, and where she woke up from her sleep with pain in her back, was called /ofo + langa/ "awake startled from sleep + pain." The beach on which the baby boy was delivered was called /niu ui/ "coconut call" because the men called around for a coconut to feed the baby. The child was named Nginingini Ofolanga, meaning "the shrivelled dried coconut from Ofolanga."

Two more names associated with the war between Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga, and Taufa'ahau which took place on Lifuka island at Ha'apai[14] were given wrong meanings. They are:

Tauakipulu. "To build two canoes at the same time for caulking with pulu gum (taua, to build two canoes at the same time; ki, for; pulu, a kind of gum, used as pitch for caulking canoes."[15]

Velata. "To burn and to strike (vela, to burn; ta, to strike)."[16]

Gifford's Tauakipulu's correct spelling and pronunciation is /tau'akipulu/. It came from the terrifying yells of Laufili'tonga's fleeing warriors, /ko e pulu 'oku nau tau'aki/ "they are using gun powder in the fight." This sentence had been transformed into /tau'aki'a e pulu/ "fighting with gunpowder," or "using gunpowder for the fight," and /'a e/ got deleted resulting in the present form, /tau'akipulu/ the name given to the King's residence in Ha'apai to commemorate Taufa'ahau's victory over Laufilitonga's warriors.

Velata had also originated in a similar fashion to Tau'akipulu. It is the result of transformations of the original sentence /Ko e taa na'e vevela/" the strike that inflicted pain," referring figuratively to the great mental suffering of Laufilitonga when his wife Lupe Pau'u eloped with Taufa'ahau. This original sentence was transformed to /Na'e vevela 'a e taa/. Then the past tense marker /na'e/ was

12. Before the baby is breast fed by the mother, he is given a *namoa*. This consists of ripe coconut meat which is chewed and wrapped in a piece of unpainted tapa cloth. Then this is placed in the baby's mouth so he can suck it. The coconut cream acts as a mild laxative and it cleans out the baby's *te 'evao* "bush excrement" which is the term applied to the baby's first passing of stool.
13. Most people in Ha'apai believe that the ovava tree in front of the hospital at Niu'ui on Lifuka is this same ovava tree referred to in this story.
14. Gifford. 1923:213–14.
15. */tau'akipulu/*. Gifford 1923:216. The three morphemes in this compound word are */tau/* "fight or war" /'aki/ instrumental suffix, and */pulu/* "gunpowder."
16. Gifford 1923:257.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

of a sting-ray fited upon a piece of wood, served as a polisher; for small work they make use of Sharks teeth and Shells.

Tillage The Instruments for *Tillage*, in which they may be said to vie with Europeans, are nothing more than Pickets, or Stakes of different lengths according to the depth they have to dig, they are flaten'd and sharpened to a edge at one end and the largest have a short piece fastened transversely a little above it, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent.

War and Weapons The art of War is not unknown to these people though perhaps they practise it as little as any nation upon earth; for except their occasional disputes with Fidge[e], before mentioned, they seem to have no Enimies round them. Their Weapons are clubs of defferent sorts, in the making, or rather Ornamenting of which they spend much time, Spears and darts; they have bows and arrows but they seemed to be designed only for amusement and not as a Military weapon.[1]

Goverment Of the nature of Goverment we know no more than the general out line, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body politic I confess my self totally ignorant.[2] Some have told us that the power of the King is unlimited and that the life and property of the Subject is at his disposal; but the few circumstances that fell under our observation, made more against than for a dispotic Goverment though we saw instances of both, and some that clearly shewed that the lower order of people have no property but at the will of their masters.[3] On the other hand *Marriwaggy*, Old *Toobough* and *Feenough*, acted each like petty Sovereigns and frequently thwarted the meas-

[1] They shot pigeons with them, as an aristocratic diversion.

[2] Not without reason, considering the complicated nature of the Tongan power-structure. I do not annotate some of the sentences that follow, in which Cook repeats statements already annotated, however erroneous they may be.

[3] '. . . we saw instances, where present Passion seem'd to be their only guide, & where had they killd the Objects of their wrath they woud have been amenable neither to justice nor to a superior; but as the common people by no means appear dispirited or any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness & benevolence of their masters, insures them against an ill use of their Authority. . . . Upon the whole the Friendly Islanders have the appearance of enjoying most of the Advantages aris'ing from a regular Government, few even surpass them in the great order they observe on all Occasions, in their ready compliance with the Commands of their Superiors, & the great harmony which subsists amongst all ranks; & none in the general sweetness & mildness of their tempers. We see many things worthy of imitation, few of blame; wou'd to God they cou'd say the same of us, but we have left them an incurable disorder which will for ever embitter their quiet & happy lives, & make them curse the hour they ever saw us.'—King.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

desired they might fire at an empty Canoe which lay upon the Beach at the Distance of about 100 yards. The marines fired at it several times but when the Indians run to examine it they found only one ball had hit it, but that having gone through each side was sufficient to convince them that it would be rather imprudent to stand in its way. Presently, after the Marines had withdrawn, about a hundred Indian Warriors in battle array made their Appearance with Phenow at their Head, each bearing a small weapon in his hand about 2 feet long, very slender & of the shape of a spade, they seemed to use them instead of Clubs like we do Foils in fencing. They were drawn up in a regular Line three deep with two Drums beating in front. They began their Exercise by twirling their Instruments slowly according to the Measure beat on the Drums, several of the Chiefs at the same time singing in a gentle deep Cadence & lifting up their Legs & inclin[in]g their Heads & Bodies to each Side alternately, keeping exact time; by degrees the Drum and the Song grew louder & quicker, which was accompany'd by their Movements which at last became violent to a great degree; they ran backwards & forwards the rear Rank being sometimes in the front and the front in the rear. After continuing these maneuvres some time there ensued a Pause; then they began again in a slow measure and went through the several Degrees of quickness as before, & thus repeated the same Exercise several times. It was observ'd that Phenow, who appeared to be their General, was always at the beginning of their Exercise in the center of the front rank, but by the Course of their different Evolutions he was sometimes in the rear Rank & in the Wing of that rank, so that there did not seem to be any fixed Station for their Leader, nor was he distinguished from the rest by his weapon or any other Mark of Eminency. Every one seemed to perform the same Duty without any Advantage over his fellow warriors but what was to be derived from bodily Strength or superior Skill. To us who could hardly seperate the Idea of Decrepitude & weakness from old age, it was matter of peculiar Delight & admiration to behold the Vigour & activity of the old Men, who in performing their military Exercise were not to be distinguished from the young ones any otherwise than by their grey Locks and venerable Countenances. Once or twice while a Pause was made in their Exercise a Man advanced in the front of the line with a Club in his Hand, who jumped and turned about as quick as possible, brandishing his Club & twirling it about in a strange & violent Manner, this he continued for about a Minute and then retired to his Rank. Perhaps on the day of battle his office may be like the Champions of old to challenge the opposite Party to single

[185 cont.]

501 tranverse platform of planks, in the midst of which they had erected
175 a hut, where they placed their goods, their arms, and utensils, and where they passed great part of their time. There were likewise holes, which gave admittance into the body of each canoe. Their masts were stout poles which could be struck at pleasure, and their sails were very large and triangular, but not very proper to sail by the wind.
[289] All their cordage was excellent, and they had also contrived a very good ground tackle, consisting of a strong rope with large stones at the end, by means of which they came to an anchor.

122 We went on shore again after dinner, as captain Cook proposed
126 leaving this island the next day. We passed through several fields and wild shrubberies, and collected a number of valuable plants.
[439] We also made a purchase of several arms, such as clubs, and spears, and of some utensils, viz. small stools, large wooden dishes and bowls, in which the people prepare their victuals, and some earthern pots
719 which seemed to have been long in use. The great abundance of their
175 arms, does not agree with their good-nature and hospitable disposition,
[181] unless they quarrel with their next neighbours, like the people of
[531] Taheitee and the Society Islands. But they seemed to have spent too much time [186] in ornamenting their clubs, to have frequent occasion to use them.

122 At day break the next morning [June 29] we unmoored and set sail, standing towards the island of Tofoa, on which we had again observed
439 the volcano burning during night. A whole fleet of canoes followed us
175 several miles, trading with a variety of articles, particularly their dresses, utensils, and ornaments. Some of them likewise brought fish of different sorts, which we had found very well tasted.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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for their lives, without provisions. On one of the islands off Tongatapu they met Fīnau and his warriors. Joining him, they all sailed for Tongatapu and landed at Hahake. There they observed the shocking and sickening aftermath of the ravages perpetrated by the royalists. They left Hahake to attack the royalists at Hihifo and landed at Ma'ofanga, where they were joined by the people of that place, and then marched on to Hihifo.

Fīnau 'Ulukālala found the royalists well fortified and firmly entrenched, and, in the fierce battle which ensued, he was beaten and driven back from Hihifo. He was then compelled to return to Ha'apai, and for several years he made no further attempt to invade Tongatapu on a large scale, contenting himself with a series of surprise attacks, particularly at night. In these attacks, a few unsuspecting victims would be killed, property hurriedly destroyed, and the raiders would then quickly escape to their canoes, and sail back to Ha'apai. It was not until the capture of the *Port-au-Prince* in 1806, which brought an unexpected supply of guns as well as the services of some of the crew of the ill-fated vessel, that another major onslaught was made on Tongatapu.

Misery on Tongatapu was further intensified by the feuds between the chiefs of its various districts who struggled for power or tried to assert their independence. When Vaha'i died, two prominent figures emerged, Teukava of Kolovai and Tākai of Pea, both of whom had been closely associated with Vaha'i. The latter had appointed Teukava as his successor at Polonga, Hihifo, and ordered Tākai to build a fortress at Pea. Soon feuding broke out between Tākai and Teukava.

In the meantime, Tupoumālohi, Tuku'aho's younger brother, returned from Fiji where he had been for several years participating in the fighting of the Fijian chiefs. He built Nuku'alofa as his fortress and on the death of Ma'afu'olimuloa he succeeded to the position of Tu'i kanokupolu. He found, however, that he had very little influence among the chiefs, who wanted independence. The threat from Tākai and his followers in the nearby fortress of Pea compelled him to leave Nuku'alofa and join forces with Teukava. Teukava was, however, defeated, killed and eaten by a Fijian of Tākai's party at Te'ekiu. Tupoumālohi then left Tongatapu for Ha'apai where he stayed with his nephew, Tupouto'a, son of

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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because of their skills in making and repairing iron tools and, more importantly, as interpreters between the two cultures.

With the guns of the *Port-au-Prince* and the services of the Englishmen, Fīnau 'Ulukālala decided to launch another major attack on Tongatapu. This new onslaught, in 1807, heralded a new phase in the history of warfare in Tonga, more dangerous and devastating than ever before. The fortress at Nuku'alofa was destroyed in record time. With the support of artillery and muskets, manned by Fīnau's white captives, the Tongans with their spears, clubs and fire-brands in hand, burnt down the fortress, slaying its men, women and children. Mariner recorded this destruction:

> When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes, which had been hauled up on the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty dead bodies, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He then thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them. (Martin 1827, I:98)

On the advice of the priests, the victors rebuilt the fortress and, ignoring Mariner's advice to launch a full-scale invasion of Tongatapu, they engaged only in light skirmishes. As there was an acute shortage of food due to civil war, some proposed killing the prisoners and roasting them for food. 'The proposal was readily agreed to, by some, because they liked this sort of diet, and by others because they wanted to try it thinking it a manly and warlike habit' (Martin 1827, I:108).

Meanwhile, Tākai of Pea, a member of the Ha'a Havea, was the most powerful chief in Tongatapu at the time. He entered into an alliance with 'Ulukālala, pretending to acknowledge his rule, but immediately after the latter left for Ha'apai, Tākai and his men destroyed the fortress which 'Ulukālala had rebuilt at Nuku-'alofa. This greatly angered 'Ulukālala, but further troubles in Ha'apai and Vava'u kept him occupied until his death in 1809.

The trouble in Vava'u and Ha'apai stemmed from a plot by Tupouto'a, 'Ulukālala's other half-brother, to avenge himself upon Tupouniua who had murdered his father, Tuku'aho. Tupouniua governed Vava'u on 'Ulukālala's behalf and was a popular and

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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America before it visited Lifuka, Ha'apai. The ship's company included the lad Mariner, the captain's clerk, only 13 years of age when the ship left England and 15 when *Port-au-Prince* was attacked. The captain had expected from Cook's account that he would find a favourable place in Ha'apai for repairing his leaking vessel. The spot where Cook's ships had anchored and had escaped from the plot in 1777 was the scene of the tragic destruction of *Port-au-Prince* on 1 December 1806. With extraordinary imprudence the captain allowed Tongans with their weapons to wander about his ship. They were under orders from the wily Finau 'Ulukalala who had professed friendliness towards the captain. At a given signal the sailors were attacked by 300 Tongans; twenty-two were killed and their bodies cast into the sea. The captain and three others on shore also were killed. The rest, thirty-four, were spared to work the guns which Finau had especially coveted. He took a fancy to young Mariner, who became attached to his entourage and was given a Tongan name, Toki 'Ukamea (= Iron Axe). While the ship was being broken up to get the iron the barrels of whale-oil in the hold burst; eight Tongans were drowned. Taufa'ahau, the future king, then a boy about nine years old, was pulled out of the oil just in time. The ship was burnt and the silver coins and plate which had been taken from the Spaniards were melted and lost in the fire.(2) 175 177 609 721

Finau 'Ulukalala took eight cannons to conduct the war on a new scale in Tongatapu. In this invasion he first made an assault on the fort at Nuku'alofa. This fort, the largest of twelve then existing in Tongatapu, stood on the hill afterwards called Zion because of the Wesleyan chapel there. The fort was more than four acres in extent, surrounded by a reed fence nine feet high and two ditches, each twelve feet in width and of the same depth. While the bombardment was being made from the beach, Finau observed the effect from the reef where he sat on a chair taken from the *Port-au-Prince*. After one hour the fort seemed to show little sign of damage but, when Finau's men had gone closer and burnt the fort, they were able to enter it without any opposition. The havoc resulting from the bombardment was then evident, and Finau felt satisfied with the success of his new style of warfare. The bodies of 350 defenders who had been killed by the guns were thrown into the sea. 175 669 713 634 712

Finau's treachery and insatiable ambition were further revealed in the murder of his half-brother, Tupouniua. The plot was carried out, with Finau's connivance, by Tupouto'a, son of Tuku'aho, the Tu'i Kanokupolu whom Tupouniua had killed in 1799. After Tupouto'a had taken his revenge the chiefs in Vava'u retaliated against the murderer of their governor Tupouniua, and his accomplice, the lord of Vava'u and Ha'apai, Finau himself. The Vava'u chiefs built a fort on the hill-top at Feletoa, an inland village. It was so large that it included the cave on the hillside with the entrance to an underground stream, and it was capable of holding all the inhabitants of Vava'u, estimated at 8,000. Its area and the dimensions of its walls and ditches exceeded those at Nuku'alofa. Shrewdly the defenders of Feletoa had built the outside earth-walls of their fort so high that cannon-balls would strike them but not penetrate the interior of the fort. When Finau brought his army and his much-vaunted guns from Ha'apai he found that, after six hours' bombardment, his guns were useless against the Feletoa fort. As his weary men dragged the guns back to Finau's base on the shore at Neiafu, they freely cursed the Englishmen who could make guns fire cannon-balls but were not clever enough to make them walk! A peace settlement followed, but Finau, deceitful as 175 669 634 175 669 634 712 175 669 634

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 0U9 Tonga 0U9
(1770-1820)

[1799-1812]

rebellion against the lawful authority (cf. Collocott 1928, p. 90). 175
Fighting broke out between the followers of the *Tui Kanokupolu* and 669
Finau's party. At first the latter scored a few successes, but after the death in battle of Mulikihaamea this changed (Thomson 1894, p. 325 ff.; Farmer, p. 104). His merciless conduct had many ill effects, and in the end Finau was obliged to withdraw to the Haapai Islands. From here he continued regularly making raids on the main island.

The Protestant missionaries of the "Duff", who were in a dangerous [797]
position on account of this war, tried to leave the island. They found an opportunity to do so when an English ship called at Tongatapu in 1800 (Farmer, p. 114).

First the office of *Tui Kanokupolu* was held for a short period by 643
Maafuolimuola, then in 1800 Tubou Malohi, a brother of the murdered Tukuaho, came into office. With a break of a few years, which he spent in the Fiji Islands, he retained this office until 1812 (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Lawry 1850, p. 67; Farmer, p. 123; Thomson 1894, p. 333; Gifford, p. 86). However, a new *Tui Haa Takalaua* was not appointed.

Another brother of Tukuaho, Tubou Toa, joined Finau and — with his know- 643
ledge and cooperation — revenged his brother's death by killing Tubou Niua 634
(Mariner, p. 137). After this Tubou Toa was appointed chief of the Haapai 669
Islands (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Mariner, p. 219). Finau would rule the Vavau Islands himself. However, a rebellion broke out against him here, as he was suspected of having had a hand in the death of Tubou Niua, who was popular on those islands. With difficulty Finau at last managed to subdue the islands [177]
(Mariner, p. 178 ff.). All this did not prevent him, however, from raiding [713]
Tongatapu a few times, in which guns looted in surprise attacks on ships played an important part.[11]

On Tongatapu the leading figure in these years was Tarkai, who 669
ruled in the district of Bea (Thomson 1894, p. 333). At first he had 634
supported Finau, but now he worked for himself (Mariner, p. 119 ff.). Elisabeth Morey, who was on Tongatapu from 1802-1804 as a prisoner, mentions "Ducava" as the most important chief (Morey, p. 187). This may have been Tahofa, Tarkai's brother (cf. Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95 ff.).

In 1806 the *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa died on the Vavau Islands 643
and he was succeeded by Fuanunuiava. The latter was strongly influenced by Finau. He even married one of his daughters (Mariner, p. 132).

[11] Thomson 1894, p. 333; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 194. Numerous cases are known of ships raided in the Tonga Islands between 1800 and 1810. [648] Lockerby gives various examples of this: p. lxiii ff., 10 ff., 95 ff., 181 ff., [609] 200 ff.; cf. Mariner, p. 58 ff.